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Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 245262

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

THE FOL TEL FROM VIENNA DATED DEC 11, 1973 TO SECSTATE WASHDC
SECDEF WASHDC INFO BONN LONDON NATO USNMR SHAPE USCINCEUR
AND ANKARA IS REPTED.

QTE S E C R E T VIENNA 10210

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

ANKARA FOR DELIVERY TO NATO DEPT TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTRY

E.O. 11652 GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJ: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: HUNGARIAN PLENARY STATEMENT, 11 DEC

TRANSMITTED HEREWITH IS DEC 11 PLENARY STATEMENT OF HUNGARIAN
REP. BEGIN TEXT:
1. I HAVE A FEW REMARKS TO MAKE TODAY. THE FIRST OF THEM CONCERNS
THE AIM OF OUR TALKS. I CONSIDER IT ESSENTIAL TO RETURN TO THIS
SUBJECT, BECAUSE WE MUST HAVE A CLEAR IDEA OF WHAT WE ARE WORKING
TOWARDS, AND BECAUSE IT IS HERE THAT OUR BASIC DIVERGENCIES MANI-
FEST THEMSELVES. I WOULD LIKE TO RECALL THAT IN SPRING WE DECIDED
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TO HOLD TALKS ON THE MUTUAL REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS,
AS WAS CLEARLY ESTABLISHED IN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF THE PREPAR-
ATORY TALKS. AND, AS WE ALL WELL REMEMBER AND KNOW, NO EXCEPT-
IONS WERE ENVISAGED WITH REGARD TO INDIVIDUAL TYPES OF THESE FORCES

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AND ARMAMENTS.

2. IT WOULD SEEM THAT THIS WAS A SIMPLE AND CLEAR PROVISION WHICH SHOULD NOT GIVE RISE TO ANY DOUBTS OR INTERPRETATIONS RESTRICTING OR BROADENING ITS REAL MEANING. WHEN, HOWEVER, WE HEAR THE SPEECHES OR READ THE DOCUMENT OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES, WE GET THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY ARE APPLYING THEIR OWN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT UNDERSTANDING TO THIS ABSOLUTELY PRECISE FORMULATION, THEY SPEAK OF THE REDUCTION - MOREOVER OF THE FAR FROM IDENTICAL REDUCTION - OF ONLY SOME TYPES OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS. ONE CANNOT AGREE WITH THIS, AS ON THE BASIS OF THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE ONE CAN DRAW ONLY ONE CONCLUSION, WHICH IS THAT OUR TASK IS TO CONDUCT TALKS ON THE WORKING OUT OF AN AGREEMENT ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

3. IN PRACTICE THIS MEANS, AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, THAT THE REDUCTION SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT OF BOTH FOREIGN AND NATIONAL ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS SITUATED ON THE TERRITORIES OF BELGIUM, THE GDR, LUXEMBOURG, THE NETHERLANDS, POLAND, THE FRG AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

4. BOTH THE TITLE AND THE CONTENTS OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT OF FOUR SOCIALIST STATES - THE GDR, POLAND, THE USSR AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA TABLED ON 8 NOV CONFORM IN FULL MEASURE WITH CARRYING OUT THIS TASK WHICH STANDS BEFORE US.

5. WE HAVE NO DOUBT THAT CARRYING OUT THIS TASK INVOLVES THE EXAMINATION OF A WHOLE SERIES OF COMPLICATED PROBLEMS. THE COMPLEXITY OR THE SPECIAL CHARACTER OF ONE OR ANOTHER TYPE OF WEAPON, HOWEVER, CANNOT IN THEMSELVES IN ANY WAY SERVE AS A BASIS FOR EXCLUDING THIS FORM OF A WEAPON FROM REDUCTION AND LEAVING IT TO ONE SIDE. ON THE CONTRARY, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE COMPLEXITY OF THE QUESTION BEFORE US WE CONSIDER IT EXTREMELY IMPORTANT THAT THE APPROACH TO THE DISCUSSION OF THEM AND OUR VIEWS AND PROPOSALS SHOULD HAVE A COMPREHENSIVE CHARACTER, AS IS THE CASE IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT OF THE FOUR SOCIALIST STATES.

6. ONE CAN SCARCELY CONSIDER COMPREHENSIVE AN APPROACH UNDER WHICH
SECRET

WE WOULD HAVE TO EXAMINE ONLY SOME COMPONENTS OF THE EXISTING RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES IN THE AREA IN QUESTION. THE PROPOSAL OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES TO BREAK UP INTO PHASES THE TALKS THEMSELVES AND THE REDUCTION MEASURES WHICH IT IS ESSENTIAL SHOULD BE ELABORATED AND IMPLEMENTED ALSO FAILS TO CONFORM WITH SUCH AN APPROACH.

7. IN OUR VIEW, DURING THESE TALKS WE MUST CONSTANTLY KEEP IN MIND THE INCONTESTABLE AND OBJECTIVE FACT THAT THE COMBAT CAPABILITIES OF ARMED FORCES AS A WHOLE ARE DETERMINED BY THE AGGREGATE OF ALL THEIR INDIVIDUAL TYPES AND ARMAMENTS SITUATED IN THE AREA IN QUESTION. AND IF THIS IS THE CASE, ONE CAN SCARCELY RECOGNISE AS REALISTIC THE PROPOSALS PUT FORWARD FOR DISCUSSION BY THE

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REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES, WHICH PROCEED FROM
THE CONCEPT OF SO-CALLED DISPARITIES, WHICH IS UNFOUNDED AND
UNACCEPTABLE TO US. BOTH WE AND OTHER REPRESENTATIVES HAVE ALREADY
POINTED OUT HERE THE GROUNDLESSNESS OF THIS CONCEPT. I
WISH NOW ONLY TO REMARK THAT IT SOUNDS ALL THE MORE STRANGE
WHEN HIGHLY COMPETENT AND RESPONSIBLE PEOPLE IN THE WEST,
WHILE DECLARING THAT THEIR POLICY OF MILITARY EQULIBRIUM BETWEEN
EAST AND WEST IS BASED ON PRESERVING THE BALANCE OF ARMED FORCES,
AT THE SAME TIME TALK OF VARIOUS PLANS FOR CARRYING OUT A "REFORM
OF THE DEFENCE STRUCTURE", WHICH IS SUPPOSED TO HEIGHTEN THE
EFFECTIVENESS OF THEIR ARMED FORCES.

8. AS FOR THE TASK OF THE PRESENT TALKS, ANOTHER QUESTION ARISES:
HOW DO WE MEAN TO REACH THE GOAL AHEAD OF US? IT IS EVIDENT THAT
A DECISION ON WHAT ARE TO BE OUR METHODS, ON WHAT ROAD WE ARE TO
SET OUT, CAN BE IN THE FUTURE DECISIVE FOR SUCCESSFUL MOVEMENT
FORWARD. WE CONSIDER THAT THE MOST SENSIBLE AND MOST EFFECTIVE
WAY OF CONDUCTING OUR TALKS WOULD BE TO CONTINUE THEM ON THE BASIS
OF AN ALL-EMBRACING DRAFT AGREEMENT, AS IS PROPOSED BY THE FOUR
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. THIS WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY CORRESPOND TO THE
UNDERSTANDING REACHED DURING THE PREPARATORY TALKS. WE HAVE ALSO

BEEN CONVINCED OF THE CORRECTNESS OF SUCH A METHOD BY THE SPEECHES
OF THE HEADS OF THE DELEGATIONS OF THE CO-SPONSORING COUNTRIES, IN
WHICH THEY THOROUGHLY ANALYZED AND DEMONSTRATED THE REALISTIC AND
CONSTRUCTIVE CHARACTER OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT PROPOSED BY THEM.
THE DRAFT AGREEMENT OF THE 4 SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ALLOWS US
TO BEGIN PRACTICAL NEGOTIATIONS STRAIGHT AWAY. STUDY AND ANALYSIS
SECRET

OF THIS DOCUMENT SHOWS THAT IT ENVISAGES MEASURES ON THE
REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE
WHICH ARE ENTIRELY CAPABLE
OF IMPLEMENTATION AND SPECIFIC.

9. THE DRAFT AGREEMENT TAKES ACCOUNT OF AND EMBODIES THE
PRINCIPLES ON WHICH MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING WAS REACHED. IT CONFORMS
FULLY WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL
PARTIES. THIS IS BECAUSE THE DRAFT ENVISAGES THE REDUCTION BOTH
OF FOREIGN AND NATIONAL ARMED FORCES OF THE ELEVEN STATES
WHICH ARE POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS IN A FUTURE AGREEMENT ON AN
EQUAL PERCENTAGE BASIS.

10. WE CONSIDER IT HIGHLY IMPORTANT THAT ALL ARMED FORCES
AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, INCLUDING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, BE
INCLUDED IN REDUCTION MEASURES. PUBLIC OPINION EXPECTS THIS OF
US. FOR PUBLIC OPINION IT WOULD BE INCOMPREHENSIBLE IF WE DID
OTHERWISE.

11. WE ARE FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT THE PRACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT TABLED BY THE FOUR
SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WOULD FURTHER EFFECTIVE MILITARY DETENTE IN

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EUROPE AND WOULD SERVE AS A CONTRIBUTION TO LASTING SECURITY
IN THIS CONTINENT AT A LOWER LEVEL OF ARMED FORCES AND
ARMAMENTS. THIS WOULD BE IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL OF US.

12. FINALLY, MR. CHAIRMAN, IN CONNECTION WITH THE UNILATERAL
STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE AT THE SESSION OF
22 NOV, AND THE DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTED BY HIM ON THAT DAY, AND
ALSO WITH THE STATEMENT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NETHERLANDS
AT THE SESSION OF 28 NOV CONCERNING HUNGARY, I WOULD LIKE TO
REPEAT YET AGAIN THAT, AS WAS SET OUT IN THE COURSE OF THE
PREPARATORY TALKS BY THE REPS OF HUNGARY AND OTHER SOCIALIST
STATES, HUNGARY COULD CONSIDER PARTICIPATION IN POSSIBLE DECISIONS,
AGREEMENTS OR MEASURES ONLY IF THE APPROPRIATE CONDITIONS WERE
FULFILLED. THESE CONDITIONS ARE WELL KNOWN TO ALL PARTICIAPANTS
IN THE TALKS. THAT IS OUR UNALTERABLE POSITION.
END TEXT. MONIKEL

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